1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

One of the reasons for telling the child about the underworld is to warn him of the machinations of ghosts who strive to lure him thither:

This is what I learned from my older relatives. The ghosts are supposed to go around in the early part of the night and then again when it gets on toward morning, from about two o'clock on. That's the old Chiricahua belief.

Toward morning a person will be dreaming. He dreams that ghosts are bothering him. He dreams of the underworld and the people there. Some of them he knows, some he doesn't know. He sees the beautiful land. They offer him food, a piece of yucca fruit or bread. When I was small my father and the older people told me that if I dreamed this I should not accept the fruit, for, if you accept it, it means that you are going to die and go to that place yourself.

The fear of the departed, and especially of departed relatives, plays a conspicuous part in adult life, in ideas of witchcraft, in aspects of social organization, and in shamanism. The basis for this is solidly laid in childhood:

I was pretty thin when I was a child. . . . . I used to be very much afraid too. I was influenced a great deal by the Indian beliefs about ghosts and used to get scared at night. I'd go over to someone else's bed and force myself upon him. Often I'd wake up screaming in the middle of the night, thinking I had seen someone near my bed. I'd dream of ghosts. A face would be bending over me, laughing. It would be just an outline, no features showing.

. . . . I always had a tendency to look back and see if anyone was following me when I was out at night. This is what the Chiricahua call being influenced by ghosts; I must have been suffering from ghosts.

Sometimes the child's panic reaches such proportions that a ceremony must be conducted over him:

Once when I was a boy we children were playing out at night. As I was coming home I felt that someone was touching me. I became frightened, ran home, fell in the door, and became sick. They performed a ghost ceremony over me. The shaman worked a fire drill. The first sparks that came he put in my mouth.[4] I came to my senses. Then the shaman prayed and finally he sang. I was small and do not remember more of the details.

There are cases where a child's ailment, though the symptoms are not so transparent, is finally interpreted as ghost or "darkness" sickness (to use the approved euphemism) and dealt with

[4] An evidence of the opposition of fire and the ghost (owl) which is believed to exist.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family have brought baskets of fruit and nuts to the rear of the hide upon which she has stood. They throw these presents upon the hide, and a scramble ensues. Thus the cycle which began when the pollen footprints were drawn has been completed symbolically; the fruits have followed the pollen and the season of growth. In the good-natured din and confusion the girl and her attendant retire. The girl has custody of the singer's rattle until evening. It is noon before this opening ritual is concluded, and more food is now distributed. 881 [431]

The afternoon is devoted to social activities—dancing in the open space to the east of the ceremonial structure, singing, racing, and visiting. Men gather at the hoop-and-pole ground, while the women play the stave game. The girl's parents move about among their guests, and grateful visitors seek them out to comment upon their hospitality and "to say they are thankful that this daughter has grown up to have the ceremony." "The feast-givers are shown respect, and all obey them. Nobody ever breaks this rule." 881 574 [535] [533] [526] [576]

Ordinarily, the girl's ritual obligations are over until evening, but she may be requested to treat the very young during the day: 881 854

The Chiricahua believe that it is good luck for a child or a baby if a girl who is White Painted Woman lifts it up. At any time during the ceremony the girl can take a very young child, pick it up under the arms, and hold it to the directions. This is done to give the child long life and good luck. [777] [823] [761]

She also helps the infirm: 881 755

If your arm is crooked, go to the girl at the time of the ceremony. She can work it and make it straight. She picks up children by the neck too. It is good for them. They tell me to let one of the girls work on me. [This man has a crippled arm.] I go there, but there are lots of people in there, and I back out every time.

In the late afternoon of the first day the adolescent girl or the singer, using a fire drill, lights a fire in the ceremonial structure. This fire is to be kept alive during the course of the ritual or, at least, during the nights. Sometime in the afternoon a great pile of firewood is stacked to the north side of the ceremonial structure. This will be used for the fire around which the masked dancers will perform. 881 372

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 112]

PLATE VII

535

a) Masked Dancers Coming Down from the Hills at Dusk

[392]

b) Worshiping the Fire

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

881 arena. Sounding their call, they burst into the open space from
535 the east at a trot and circle the fire. They are greeted by the cry of the women and the prayers of the devout.

> . . . . They would come down at night carrying a big light. . . . . When they first came down the hill, even if the camp were a large one, they used to go around to each home and not miss a single one. Just as soon as the people saw them coming they began to pray. . . . . "Men of the Mountain,"[11] they would say, "I wish you would protect me. If anything comes to hurt me, stand in front of me and help me."

881 First the dance group "worships the fire" from the directions:
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372 This is what the old man told me when I was the leader of his dancers. "The first time you come in and go to the fire, go around it four times. Then approach it from the east. When you get within about eight paces of the fire, just when the light begins to shine on you, sound the masked-dancer call. Then go around the fire once. Stop at the south, go toward the fire, sway and make the call in the same way. Do the same from the west and the north. Next come back where you started from, the east, and worship the fire again from there."

881 Sometimes the ceremonial structure is circled and "blessed,"
535 each pole being approached in clockwise rotation by the single
[346] file of dancers and clasped by the leader. Then the dancers trot off to the east and vanish in the darkness. On their way through the camps they may dance back and forth before a dwelling
[755] where there has been sickness or trouble. The entire encampment may be circled, and sickness frightened away by gesticulation and blowing.

881 With the arrival of the dancers, the restrictions applicable to
535 the onlookers come into force. No one may address or call the
784 name of an impersonator whom he recognizes; no one may point, with hand or lips, to a masked dancer; nor may anyone touch a dancer when he is in costume. "If you don't worship them in the
[796] right way, you should be frightened." However, neither men nor women confuse the impersonators with the actual Mountain Spirits. "The dancers do not turn into the real Mountain Spirits while they are dancing. They stay men but just get more strength." The restrictions are obeyed, not from fear of the

[11] A term for Mountain Spirits indicating greatest respect and used when supplicating these supernaturals or when there is reason to fear them.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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your closest relative is a witch, he is grabbed by a crowd and burned. If the relatives object, they go right into the fire too.[16]

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Fire and its derivative, ashes, are prophylactics against witches and ghosts. Objects of sorcery extracted from the body of the patient by the shaman are always consigned to the flames, where they explode noisily, giving assurance of the destruction of the witchcraft principle.[17] The same thing happens when the sorcerer's body is burned: "When he burns, there is a 'pop,' like a shot from a gun. It is the 'witchcraft' in him popping. At every burning I have seen there has been a 'pop.' "

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That false charges of witchcraft can arise from motives of personal dislike is acknowledged. Sometimes those who doubt the validity of the accusation are silenced at the time, however, by the enormity of the imputations, the strident assurance and political influence of the inciters, and the prospect of defending an unpopular cause.

Some that they burned were witches, but it was not proved that they all were. H. was a war leader. He burned up several men and several women because he suspected they were witches. It's like this: Someone might come alone to him and say, "There's a man over there who is a witch." Just because one person had told him this, he would send men over there, take that man, bring some wood, and burn him alive. Often they tied witches to a branch of a tree by the wrists with the feet off the ground, swinging.

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Punishment is in no way mitigated when the condemned witch happens to be a woman:

At a place in the Chiricahua Mountains, when I was a boy, I saw a witch woman burned. The people had gone to a shaman and had hired him to find out who was doing all the witching, for many deaths from witchcraft had occurred. The shaman had sung all night and had finally found out who the witches were. He told the people the witches were a certain husband and wife. He advised them to get rid of these two.

The couple had a young baby in the cradle at the time. While the shaman was

[16] Another reason why relatives shrink from aiding a witch will be developed later (see pp. 254–57).

[17] Only those things that are considered evil and dangerous are destroyed by fire. When I asked an informant his opinion of cremation, he said with feeling, "It would be sure to show hatred of a dead man. He is already dead. What's the use of burning him up?"

[1964]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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Pitch has been applied to the inner surface of the split, and the stone is held in place by sinew bindings on either side of it. Often an animal tail is attached to the end of the handle. An ax of this type, without the tail or any decoration, may serve around camp as a household tool.

The man makes for his own use a sling, a diamond-shaped piece of rawhide, pounded a little and thus softened, with four perforations through the median line of its width. A rawhide string is attached to each side, one with a loop at the end and the other without any. Because of the perforations, the sling can be folded over a stone about two and a half inches long and one inch thick. The loop is placed on the middle finger of the right hand, and the free string is held between the thumb and first finger. The sling is drawn back and whirled just once. As it comes forward the unlooped string is released, hurling the stone.

There are slings of two sizes that the Chiricahua carry. One is for things close by and is short. The other is a long one, for long-distance shooting. You can get to be very accurate with a sling. You never whirl the sling around a lot, as the stone might come out and hit someone. It just goes back once, and then you let it go. You can hurl a stone a hundred and fifty yards with it. It can be used for hunting birds or deer alike.

Finally, there is the stone knife, chipped with another stone. "They used to chip off the hardest rock they could get and use it for a knife." This knife may have a shoulder jutting from the handle end so that it can be tied to the belt or waist, or it may be carried in a rawhide sheath made by the woman.

A man makes a long rope from a piece of buckskin or rawhide by cutting it in a continuous clockwise circle from the outer rim to the center. To form an especially strong rope, he braids several strands of rawhide together. Such a cord or one braided from horse-tail hair makes a serviceable bridle. By shredding yucca leaves and braiding the tough strands, he makes a durable rope which also can be used for tying and hobbling horses or for a bit and bridle.

"Anyone could build a fire. Whoever woke up first did it. A woman can use the fire drill." Yet the fire drill is made by the man and is employed by him most frequently:

411 [314] [237] [412]
[223] [224]
411 412 [324]
237 283
283 824 492
372 [462]
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1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

372 We take a little stick of wood about eight or ten inches long. It has to be good solid wood and dry. It might be juniper or sotol. It is shaved thin—to about the thickness of a pencil. It does not come to a real point at the lower end but is rather blunt there.

[824] We have a flat piece of wood made of sotol stalk or yucca. It is thin. When it is to be used for the hearth, it has to be about one and a half inches wide and about eight to ten inches long. The one who is going to work the drill makes a little hole or notch in which to put it at the start, so it won't slip around. This little hole can be at the center or at the edge. If the drill goes right through the hearth without a fire being made, the person can start a new notch.

We go to a juniper tree and get the bark, the dry bark, and get some dry grass too. We keep these tied to the set and keep the whole thing dry. When using the drill, we put the grass or shredded bark around the hole, and some of it in the hole too. If we can't get a fire quickly, we put just a pinch of dirt or sand in the hole. As a man twirls the drill between his hands, the smoke comes up. Sometimes the tinder blazes up. If it doesn't blaze but you see that you have a good spark, you take the stick out of the hole, push the grass close together, and blow on it until you get your fire.

All you need is two sticks and your tinder. These two sticks are wrapped together and carried around, for these are the matches of the Chiricahua, you know. They are carried in a bag tied to the belt or in the quiver when the men are on a journey. Dry manure is used to catch the spark sometimes. Some men can get a fire in a very few turns, but some blister their hands trying to do it and give it up.

372 824 831 The designation of sotal and yucca as male and female, respectively—a concept which figures in the construction of the cradle—is extended by some (but not by everyone) to the parts of the fire drill:

The same distinction between the "he" and the "she" is made when talking about the fire drill. The bottom part is supposed to be made out of the "she," the yucca stalk [narrow-leafed yucca],[17] and the top part, which is spun between the hands, should be made out of sotol, the "he."

372 [415] There are other ways of making and preserving fire. Sparks from flints can be caught in dry pulverized pith of such plants as the elderberry.[18] The flints and the powder are often carried in a buckskin bag, attached to the belt. In wet weather, when it may be difficult to rekindle a fire, a slow fuse of shredded juniper bark tied with yucca leaf strings proves useful:

[17] As the description above shows, this convention is not always respected.

[18] Probably the use of flints and pyrites to make fire followed European contact.

[177]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 395]

PLATE XIV

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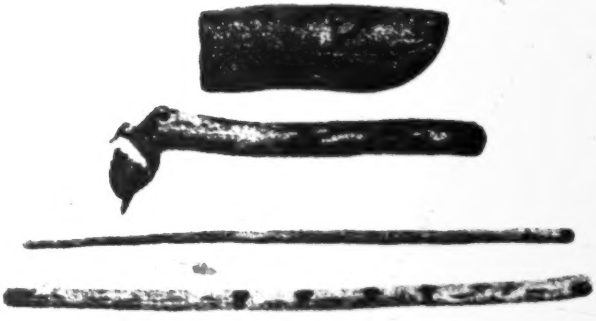
392



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

a) FIRE DRILL, HIDE-SCRAPER, AND KNIFE SHEATH

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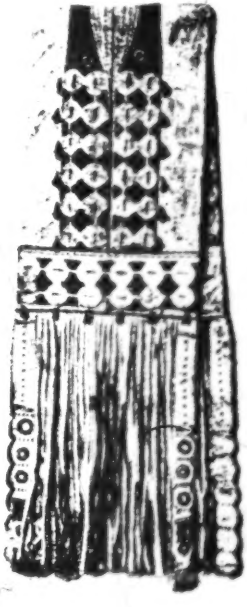
492
531



United States National Museum

b) SADDLE BAG

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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If it rained we had a slow-burning fuse that kept a fire going. And when it burned to the end we lit another from it. Thus we kept a fire burning at a rainy time. To play safe, we usually took these fuses along with us in case of emergency, especially if it looked like rain.

Since the operation of the fire drill is considered hard work, whenever there is a chance of getting fire by other means, these are attempted first. It is not unusual, for instance, to send some member of the household to a neighboring camp to borrow fire. He "carries a hot coal between two sticks and runs back to his camp. Mesquite wood will burn the longest when carried this way."

Equipment for the horse.—There is a tendency to associate the horse with the man and his affairs. Women obtain horses by gift and in payment for services, particularly ceremonial services, but the majority of the horses remain in the possession of the men:

Caring for stock is man's work. Men round up the horses and cattle. When a horse is to be loaded, the woman gets the pack ready, but the man does the loading. Men make the saddles, and they saddle the horses for themselves and their wives. The women know how to saddle horses, however, and can do it when necessary. A woman might saddle a gentle horse. A widow has to saddle her own horse.

It is the business of the man to furnish the equipment needed in making use of the horse—the saddle, stirrups, bridle, bit, and quirt.

The saddle, which is modeled after European examples, has a cottonwood framework. Tree forks are whittled down to form the front and cantle. On the front a projection is left for the horn. Two flat boards are lashed between these forks, one on either side, to form the saddle skirts. Wet hide, often with the fur left on, is stretched over this frame and laced into place. As it dries, it contracts and fits securely. When metal tools came into use, the pieces of the frame were joined still more solidly by burning holes through the wood with a red-hot metal punch and drawing rawhide laces through them.

The man also makes a pack saddle, little more than a pad or frame of grass or hide bundles. He makes, too, rounded oak stir-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

824

The native ideology concerning plants illustrates this conception of the objects of the natural world and the care taken to handle them properly. A plant with smaller ones of the same kind surrounding it is called "a mother and her children." A dried tree is known as "an old lady with grey hair." Some plants are "brother" or "sister" to others. Sotol is considered a male, the "brother" of *Yucca glauca*, the female element of this particular combination. Therefore the transverse pieces at the back of the cradle-board must be made of sotol stalk when the child for whom the cradle is designed is a male, and of yucca when it is being prepared for a baby girl. Likewise is this distinction kept in mind when the fire-drill is fashioned, the hearth being then of the yucca and the drill of sotol. Whenever an Apache digs up a root to be used for medicinal or ceremonial purposes, he always prays and puts the top of the plant back in the hole.

[352] [372] [782]

776 821 [761] [828]

Life and conscious aims are attributed to natural forces as well. The Apache conception of thunder will serve as an example. Thunder is thought of as people and thunderclaps are the voices and shouting of the people. Lightning is the arrow of the thunder people and [illegible] arrows reach the earth as the elongated flints which the Apache find throughout their territory. At one time the thunder people hunted for the Apache and slew deer for them with these arrows. But those days are past and now the arrows of the thunder people are reserved for any who act disrespectfully to the thunder people or otherwise disobey the injunctions of Apache life. When the lightning flashes, the Apache says, "Let it be well, my brother Lightning," or "Strike high, my brother." When the lightning hits close the relationship is altered to make the prayer more appealing and the Apache says:

[773]

[782] [539]

Continue in a good way.
Be kind as you go through;
Do not frighten these poor people;
My grandfather, let it be well;
Don't frighten us poor people.